DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 086 917 CG 008 495

AUTHOR Hemmer, Joan D.; And Others.
TITLE Collaboration: Experiences in Changing the Behavior of Female Behavior Changers.
PUB DATE Aug 73
NOTE 36p.; Paper presented at the American Psychological Association Meeting, 27-30 August 1973, Montreal , Quebec, Canada

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Behavior Change; College Students; Community Development; Conflict; *Females; Feminism; *Psychology; Self Evaluation; *Sex Discrimination; *Social Problems; Symposia

ABSTRACT

In response to the inflexibility and inadequacy of counseling psychology, research methodology, and the psychology of women, the panel pursued four objectives: (1) to investigate psychological and political transformations of women in the change process; (2) to view women's outlooks which lead to under-utilization of talent; (3) to challenge parametric research tools for social issues, and (4) to present an evaluation methodology. Norma Gluckstern and Joan Hemmer encourage students to challenge social policies which limit opportunities, as well as achievement, for women. Barbara Turner notes that perceptions of discrimination vary widely among college women and relate to demographic and developmental variables. Joan Bean reveals that sexism and bias exists in parametric research and in the psychology of women. Margaret Mehta evaluates Project Self, a key component in the re-entry process into higher education for women. Two discussants, Pat Sackrey and Margaret Hellie Huyck, respond to these issues. (Author/LAA)

ED 086917

# Collaboration: Experiences in Changing the Behavior of Female Behavior Changers

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Presented at Division 17 Symposium, 81st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, August 30, 1973.

CG 008 495

## Title of Session

"Collaboration: Experiences in Changing the

Behavior of Female Behavior Changers"

## Presentations

"Beyond Outreach: Collaborative Effort"
Joan Hemmer, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Women in Conflict: Potential Change Agents"
Norma Gluckstern, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Correlates of Perception of Occupational Discrimination Against Women Among White College Women"
Barbara F. Turner, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Personal and Professional Transformations in Research and Teaching"
Joan P. Bean, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

"Project Self Evaluation: Feminist Process in an Educational Setting"
Margaret M. Mehta, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Discussants: Pat Sackrey, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Margaret Hellie Huyck, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago

Presented at Division 17 Symposium, 81st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, August 30, 1973.

# BEYOND OUTREACH: COLLABORATIVE EFFORT

by Joan Hemmer*

We are here today as a collaborative model to present efforts by women at one university to change the behavior of women on their own behalf, to change patterns of higher education for women, more often than not misdirected in the past, and to change discrimination against women throughout the university community. As females who are professionally engaged in human change activities, we find ourselves or should be finding ourselves, at the front lines of such change efforts.

## The Beginning - A Nucleus

What collaboration means to us begins with this panel itself. As we sought to collaborate with a large group through the panel, we began asking each other, "What was bringing us together? What were we collaborating on? Why bother?" This led to our own definition of collaboration and with it the plan for the panel. Perhaps this is where we as counselors, and other behavioral scientists must all begin if significant social and personal change is to be realized. So far, there really is not a model. As we do what we do, the nucleus of the model emerges.

Collaboration implies that we as a group come from many places and endeavors in the academic community. We represent diverse elements of the social sciences and diverse experiences. We share no common dimension, not even an identification with the Everywoman's Center. We share no common goals; the goals of some are individual, those of others, community.

So, why do we bother? We bother because:

*Dr. Hemmer is a psychological counselor and assistant professor of psychology at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

1) we are all committed to nurturing the talent of women, whatever form we find it in and by whatever means we have at our disposal.

2) we all feel as a part of our work a sense of isolation within academia and a need to combat this desolation. We exist within a male support base, and are excluded from it. The need for support and for an understanding audience of other women motivated us to both support other women and to seek their support.

3) in so doing, we also have the potential resources within collaboration to destroy discrimination as it now exists, whether against women or minorities, or any other "colonized segments of American society (S. Jourard, 1973)."

## Sources for Collaborative Effort

The thrust for change came from two directions.

Committee model. The first and a potentially powerful force was from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare guidelines on affirmative action which led to an HEW investigation on campus and report a few years ago. This thrust could be considered as coming from "the top" or hierarchical in nature, and thus was saddled with the usual delays, circumlocutions, committees and gerrymandering of titles, positions and job dollars.

Collaborative model. In the collaborative model, the major thrust comes from the community, the bottom, or the grass roots, as women seek each other out for common aims. Counselors and psychologists like to think of themselves as expert collaborators and behavior changers. They often collaborate with students and are successful in getting projects off the ground as sponsors, or supervisors.

Most collaborative projects are also hierarchical in nature within the educational setting emanating from administration, faculty, or colleagues. Collaboration with a community is somewhat alien to the typical higher education setting except as it provides meeting space, continuing education

and consultation. Thus, for most faculty and staff, collaboration is urged and sometimes even rewarded, but primarily there is professional gain at stake. Collective efforts may thus be individual in goal, rather than aimed at improving the environments in which we live. This is commendable, but has no overall impact on womens' lot. Only social action in political terms will create what Sidney Jourard (1973) calls, "a flourishing environment which is less destructive for certain entire categories of people."

## The Everywoman's Center Evolved

The Everywoman's Center on the UMass campus is a unique model of successful collaborative effort. Interdisciplinary attempts to create curriculum changes, such as institutes also exist, but a major problem of these efforts is always to maintain the individuality of one's profession, one's own department, one's own discipline. The same problems of competition and self-seeking exist, but "academic narcissism" (Bennis, 1968) remains departmentally located. The individualism which we seek to maintain is an identity which so far for most professional women has been determined by men (in a man's world) and for the most part contradicts working for women for collective action. If we switch hats or identities in the transition between work setting (department or office) and the collective settings with other women, are we ensuring our individual survival, but working at cross purposes of collective action for women? If so, there is a real contradiction and thus, conflict, for us. At the same time, we share a vested interest in changing the university policies which create the conflict for us in the first place.

External problems. The reward system must be considered. What is rewarded in academia remains individual effort in research, teaching, and in

a few institutions, service. We are all familiar with differences for women in tenure, rank within departments, salary, administrative appointments and other tangible evidences of acceptance and success. (Astin, 1969; Guttman, 1972; Levitin, 1973) Unless the reward system is challenged, collaboration may mean personal satisfaction, but job suicide for many able women. Documentation is needed to support this, but active political involvement on the campus level is often used as an excuse to deny tenure, to make unfair class and student assignments within departments, to withhold resources and equipment, and in general, to make life miserable. Women without power or clout has been the status in academia; what will collective action mean in terms of increased power perhaps accompanied by a backlash on the part of male faculty and administration? The need to significantly influence the institution is obviously urgent.

So far, our model has been rewarded in tangible terms--funding for the next academic year, appointments and new positions, greater representation of women on committees and in applications for high level positions (not necessarily hired, however). Whether or not we will be penalized for this remains to be seen; it is too early to see if the initial success and support will hold. However, it is obvious that the model is valued by the University, and is often used by university officials as proof that the future of the university is towards working together, towards an open university and towards community service.

Internal problems. Internal problems of the Everywoman's Center are reflections of external ones in the model. How to organize and administrate a mushrooming service agency takes expert planning and management; so far tremenduous effort has replaced skill and experience to get the job done.

A democratic decision-making process has worked, but efficiency and accountability also have to be emphasized. Problems of any growing organization or group are evident. Commitment to the purpose of the center has so far prevented power struggles, and collaboration has been respected as the reason for existence, past, present and future. The extension of efforts further into the University community will bring greater resistance, both to the center and to the women personally involved, and collective action will tell the story of survival. Together we may win; divided we will fall.

Goals. How to collaborate to provide change within the institution so that educational opportunities for women are expanded, so that discrimination is lessened in all areas of campus life, so that significant research on behalf of women in all disciplines can take place, so that women may learn about themselves and come to like each other, are the aims. Collaboration is the means to the end.

## Counseling is an Outmoded Term

Problems of the counseling component also arise out of the collaborative model; everyone cannot do everything. In the center as well as everywhere on campus, everyone is a counselor. As one critic said recently, "on campus, there is a counselor every 50 feet." Everyone is doing it; therefore it must be very much in demand. Or is it that the term itself has lost meaning and perhaps should, at least in the traditional sense of counseling? But what replaces it must be a better model. Our experience does suggest some directions.

Directions. There must be differentiated counseling for women--but not educational, vocational (career) and personal counseling as most counseling centers have described their services in the past.

> Morrill and Oetting (1970) point out that the typical service orientation tends to isolate counseling centers from the rest of the university. "Outreach" programs are suggested to get counselors out of centers to become active in the overall education process in order to create change. The change suggested is programmatic in nature to prepare students to benefit from the (existing) environment or to update the institution in terms of developmental needs of students . . . Any program or intervention which is not individual, remedial and direct is classed as "outreach" (Morrill, Oetting and Hurst, 1971).

Outreach activities are valuable, but for women's needs are insufficient. Differentiation must be in terms of function as well as of staff. Professional counselors may have a place, but for the most part, the identified needs are for paraprofessional counselors for the women who use the center in the areas of health needs, birth control and abortion, legal rights counseling, financial counseling, child care and management, educational and career planning, re-entry needs such as study skills, use of library, and management skills. For this, we must go beyond outreach and build better delivery systems than are a part of our professional repertoire. In-service training of professional counselors may help; para-professional training is essential. However, new theories, new techniques, and new personnel are critically needed.

## Re-definitions are Needed

As we struggle with this component, let me suggest what seems to be working.

Feminist counseling. First, we need definition and working demonstration of "feminist counseling." Old theories and old counseling techniques are being amalgamated by some "therapists" to apply to women. Morrill and Oetting (1970) suggest a major trend in counseling towards new kinds of programs that do not involve relationship counseling, but involve different kinds of interpersonal behaviors as well as new programming in community

mental health. Courses in "Freud and Feminism" are popular, but even Erikson and Fromm reflect the bias and sterotypes of mankind in general. What good mental health means for women and what freedom is for women, as well as responsibility, and whether or not "therapy" is more than society's way of maintaining the status quo are important issues (Bardwick, 1972; Broverman, 1970; Levitin, 1973). So far, the literature in counseling urges counselors to change their point of view, to try new techniques, to initiate "social action" by implementing their beliefs about role inequalities and sex stereotyping, to approach discrimination from a humanist perspective. In addition, the feminist perspective may generate the social action necessary to change what exists that can be changed. The Everywoman's Center also supports a feminist counseling collective which meets to develop a perspective and understanding between the diverse groups which should enable all counselors to be more effective with women. Hopefully, research will be generated.

Traditional training. Secondly, how to prevent traditional counselor training from being perpetuated within a new setting. For example, not only do we hire those counselors trained in usual ways, but now we are bringing in clinical psychology students, trained in a medical model, to serve practicums. How to make the Everywoman's Center a viable training center, but not be misused for old training modes certainly not applicable to many women, is a concern even of the administration. The development of support and consciousness-raising groups model is to be commended as promising effort in a new counseling direction.

New populations. Thirdly, we focus upon new populations for which old models of counseling will not work (fortunately). The older woman returning

to school or to work; the non-traditional student who does not fit either in age, in philosophy, or in life style; the classified staff woman; graduate students' wives; third world women; social activists; task forces of various special interest groups such as low income mothers returning to school, feminist studies, women's caucuses, part-time students, single parents, working women and feminist arts groups, are part of the new clientele.

Parallel structures. In some ways, we are providing duplication of services in kind, if not in content. To simply provide a parallel structure, educational or counseling, would only duplicate on a second class citizen basis, what already exists for the regular student. It is imperative for all students that the opportunity of the Everywoman's Center to become a laboratory for new models, rather than duplicative services not be lost. Even to provide "feminist counseling" is no different than creating another special program for disadvantaged students. While these have their place in initiating change, there comes a time when the special funding ceases and these students will lose out unless the total system has been influenced to include and provide for them as part of its responsibility, not someone else's. How to make the kind of counseling we advocate a part of the regular University-provided counseling services is not a small problem, and one that we have not yet begun to approach.

Outreach kinds of activities are insufficient. Liaison and released time, or even consultation, are only token--the sending bodies are only minimally affected by this process. However, giving the equivalent resources to existing agencies on campus at this point in time would be disastrous for women. For now, the University should have the component and hopefully in

time policy changes will obviate the need for separatism.

In conclusion, collaboration has given us the opportunity to go beyond outreach, to create something entirely new. We hope the results will benefit all persons in contact with the community which we serve. Collaboration is exciting for many, yet is feared by others. As Tish Sommers (1973) explains, "As we begin to change things, we change too." Collaboration has given me the personal impetus for growth in professional as well as female concerns that always amazes me, at times frightens me, and often satisfies me that being born female <u>is</u> the preferred mode, after all.

## References


Astin, H. The Woman Doctorate in America: origins, career and family. New York, Russell Sage, 1969.

Bardwick, J. Psychology of Women: a study of bio-cultural conflicts. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

Bennis, W. and Slater, P. The Temporary Society. New York: Harper & Row, 1968.

Broverman, I., Broverman, D., Clarkson, F., Rosenkranz, P. and Vogel, S. "Sex role stereotypes and clinical judgments of mental health." Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1970, 34, 1-7.

Guttman, A. Julius. "Is the Gray Mare Only a Workhorse?" Personnel and Guidance Journal, 51, 1972, 115-121.

Jourard, S. "Self-disclosure and Proactivity." Paper presented at a meeting of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, St. Louis, Mo., April, 1973.

Levitin, T., Quinn, R. and Staines, G. "A Woman is 58% of a Man." Psychology Today, 6 (March, 1973), 89-93.

Morrill, W. and Oetting, E. "Outreach Programs in College Counseling." Journal of College Student Personnel, 1970, 50-53.

Morrill, W. Oetting, E. and Hurst, J. "Dimensions of Counseling Intervention." Paper presented at a meeting of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, April, 1971.

Sommers, T. The Not-So-Helpless Female. New York: McKay Co., Inc., 1973

# Women in Conflict: Potential Change Agents

by: Norma B. Gluckstern *

## The Problem

Over the last two years my involvement in the women's movement has centered around finding a method to bring about changes within institutions which would end the oppressive effects their modes of operation have had upon women. These effects have led Ma tina Horner[1] to the conclusion that "women's will to fail" is socially and institutionally induced. Philosophical reasons lead me to work with Project Self, a series of workshops for women. The goals were enlightened; they were organized in such a way as to be impactful and had a change agent orientation.

Having decided to work with Project Self rather than any of the other women's activities, I began to shape my aims to accomodate my host, the University, but at the same time devising strategies which would bring about changes in the University that would be oriented positively towards women.

The task is complex because the University's conduct is multi-dimensional. The multi-dimensionability is due to the fact that such an organization plays out its roles on several stages and against a variety of settings. Any involvement with the University requires reading a number of manuscripts, all of which seem to be functioning.

*Project Director on a Planning Grant for a Model Education Rehabilitation Program at the Berkshire House of Corrections and Assistant Professor, School of Education, University of Massachusetts.

In other words the University must maintain educational goals, it must accomodate individualistically oriented faculty, vocal and active students, the administration, the legislature, the union and a whole host of other variables. How to bring about changes in such an environment is indeed awesome.

Searching For a Strategy

As I reviewed strategies the one that came quickly to mind is to choose to work intensively with one woman at a time. At best one woman would be helped to face adversity but not necessarily willing to respond to the destructive forces within the system. A second strategy to be looked at was to attack an obvious problem. But this too has a major liability -- for instance, improved counseling for women if effective might benefit some at that level, but other situational determinants would often render the counseling useless and mitigate the change efforts.

The challenge was one of finding strategies which would extend change-inducing influences beyond their immediate target, that address the problem over time, and that have a lasting effect upon the institution.[2] Could this requirement be met at the University with regard to the position of women within the institution? And, in particular, could Project Self provide such a vehicle?

Project Self was involved with the regeneration of people in problem situations. Why not enlist the change targets and the change clients as allies and partners in change? The assumption being made

is that change grows and is nurtured in change targets as they become the force that can attack their own problems. Women who have been shaped by oppressive forces must not only escape their fate but must learn to deal positively with its implications. The problem producing pressures can become the centers of problem-solving activities.[3] Women as change targets do not have to become passive recipients for they have experience, skills, and reason to care about bringing institutional changes. The literature has pointed out that frequently "participation models" produce change more effectively than other models.[4] In addition, the tradition of using persons who are the targets of change as change agents was initiated a number of years ago by Lewin and his colleagues.[5] If we could enlist these problem women as problem solvers it would allow for the solving of their own problems while creating an organizational vehicle and community support to insure the continuation of positive reform and change. Could such a strategy be found?

The Strategy - A Community Development Process

A strategy that I had become familiar with and attempted to use in the initial formation of the Everywoman's Center was the community development process. Biddle and Biddle describe the community development process as a progression of events that are planned by the community workers to serve goals they progressively choose through a growing sense of competencies in organizational activities.[6]

As conceptualized, such a strategy appeared to allow women in difficulty to bring about their own change, at their own rate of speed while inducing change beyond their own immediate and personal needs. In other words, they were the target for change and in the process they would begin to bring about changes in the environment which had come to render them alienated and powerless.

The strategy if successful would reduce the frustrations and alienation of women who find themselves helpless in the midst of pressures and institutions which they cannot understand nor can they control. While engaged in the process of developing the Everywoman's Center these women could no longer claim, as the alienated so often do, that they were pawns, incapable of affecting their own environment because their activities were defined by others.

The Process - What is it?

What is the community development process which I banked upon to bring about such profound changes within women? First of all there is a nucleus. A nucleus is a small group of serious minded people who meet the following conditions:[7]

a. few enough in number to come to know each other well and to trust each other despite disagreements,

b. concerned enough about human problems in the area to do something to make life more worthwhile for others in the same condition,

c. conscious of standards of right and wrong against which problems of success in alleviating difficulties will be measured.

So Lois Phillips, Joan Hemmer, and Norma Glucksterr formed a nucleus.

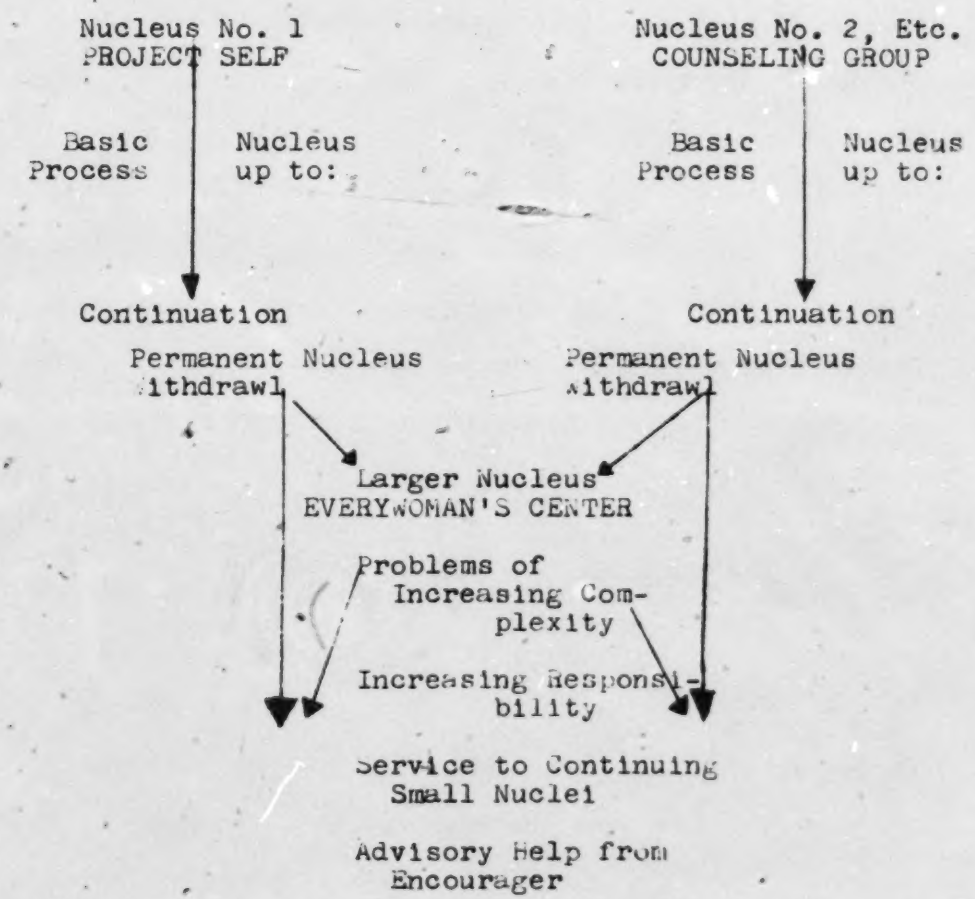
In reflecting on what took place, it is possible to present a flow of events, a flow of events which seem to be characteristic of a basic nucleus. There are six major stages:[8]

1. Exploration - i.e. preliminary study of the problem, invitation to others to join the exploration,
2. Organizational - i.e. informal meetings, structural set-up, commitments,
3. Discussional - i.e. alternative solutions to the problems, setting limits, decisions for selection of action,
4. Action - work projects, reporting analysis, evaluation of work done,
5. New projects - i.e. broadening contacts, dealing with new controversies and new alternatives, need for coalitions with outside groups,
6. Continuation - i.e. commitment to indefinite continuation of the nucleus, withdrawal frequently by the original initiators, problems increase in complexity, increasing responsibility to deal with the more complex problems.

The growing awareness of the problem can lead to several nuclei being formed. The following represents a flow chart of nuclei.

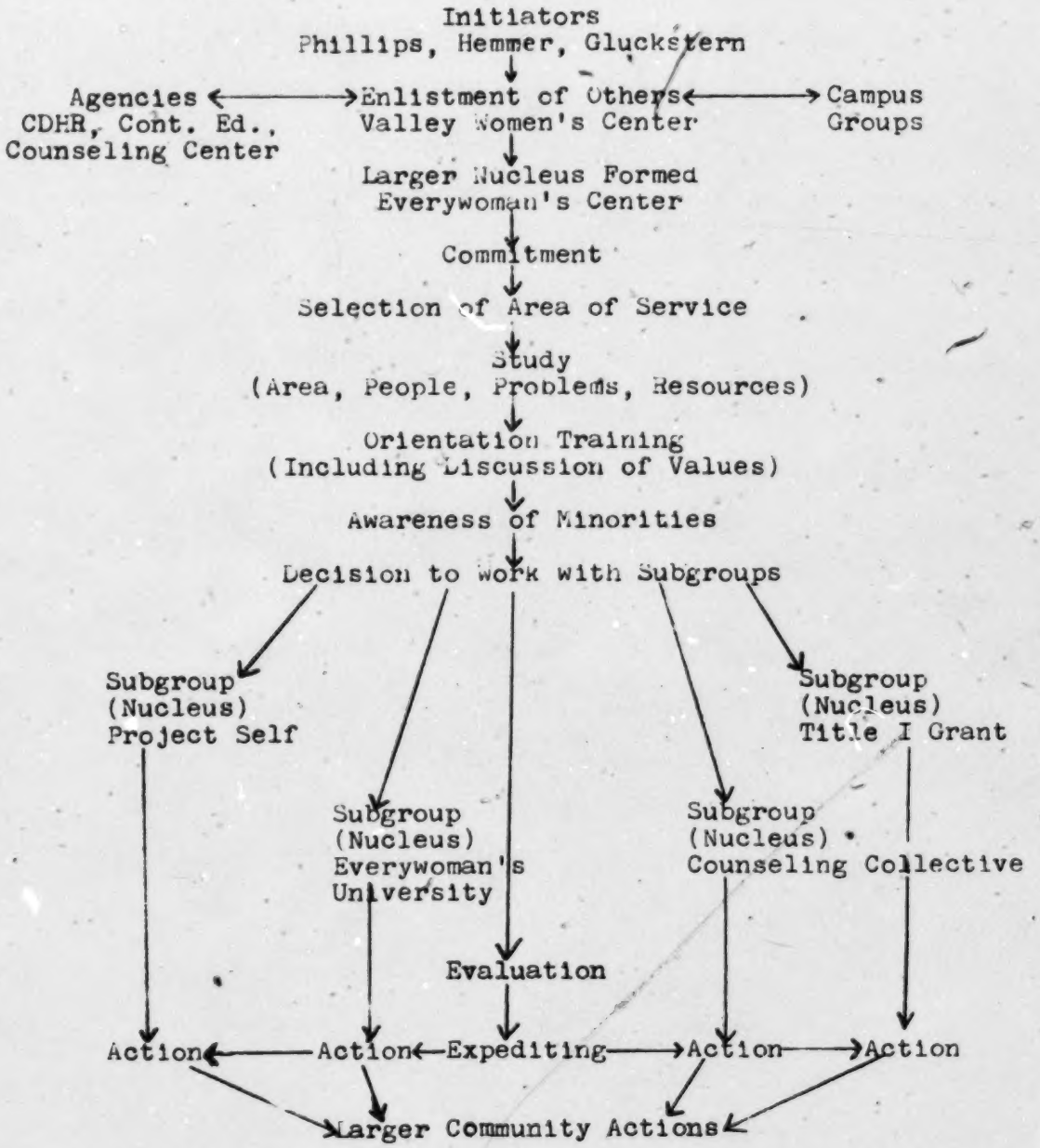
FLOW CHART

From Several Nuclei to Larger Nucleus




The above flow chart represents the coalescents of several nuclei (i.e. Project Self, Counseling group, etc.) forming a larger nucleus - Everywoman's Center. Note that the independent nuclei continue, even while they benefit by their relationship to the larger nucleus. Some nuclei continue, yet never do advance to the larger nucleus structure; nevertheless they do contribute to the development of the large nucleus.

**The larger nucleus - The Everywoman's Center can be depicted graphically as shown below:**[10]



The Feel of Sucess

The task described was not easy. It was difficult to move from the promotion of a special need or interest to search for a collective good. As we began to take action we no longer indulged in passive resistance but rather had become women self-reflecting and active, taking on roles beyond our own regeneration. We were able to leave a year later an organizational structure which would carry on our initiative long after we had ceased to work within it. As the Center becomes more and more affiliated with its host, the University, I hope that the philosophical approach of using the disenfranchised, the alienated and the oppressed to bring about their own change will continue.

Post Script

In conclusion, I would like to say that my active role within the Everywoman's Center has almost ceased; however, my two years of working to bring about change for women has had a profound affect on me. There are many factors which created the person I am but the fact that I was born a woman effected my self-image and my aspirations in a very negative way. My two years in the movement have given me a healthier self-image and allowed me to aspire and dream in a way that I never thought possible. I no longer work in the movement directly though I have many indirect responsibilities to women collectively; however, I have permanently incorporated in my work the strategy of involving problem people as problem solvers. No matter where fate takes me professionally or personally, I will always take great pride in having helped found the Everywoman's Center.

## Bibliography


1. Horner, Matina S. Toward An Understanding of Achievement - Related Conflicts in Women, Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 28, No. 2, 1972.

2. Grant, D. & Toch, H. Police as Change Agents, In Press.

3. Ibid.

4. Bennis, W. G., Benne, K. D., and Chin, R. (Eds.) The Planning of Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

5. Lewin, K. Forces Behind Food Habits and Methods of Change, Washington, D. C., National Research Council, Bulletin CVIII, 1943.

6. Biddle, W. W. & Biddle, L. J. The Community Development Process, the Rediscovery of Local Initiative. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

# CORRELATES OF PERCEPTION OF OCCUPATIONAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN AMONG WHITE COLLEGE WOMEN[1]

Barbara F. Turner
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Department of Human Development

The purpose of this study was to test the explanatory power of a theory regarding the demographic and developmental correlates of perceptions of more or less occupational discrimination against women among white college women. In the first phase of a longitudinal study (Turner and Turner, 1971), questionnaires were administered to 70 black female, 75 black male, 1,457 white female and 1,131 white male university freshmen. Analyses of variance related sex, race and SES to total scores of perceived occupational discrimination against blacks and against women. As hypothesized, blacks were found to perceive significantly more occupational discrimination against blacks than did white students. But on the measure of perceived occupational discrimination against women[2], contrary to expectation, white females perceived significantly less discrimination than did black females and white males.

Why was it that, compared to black awareness of racial discrimination, white females in this study were relatively unaware of sexual discrimination? Prompted by this provocative finding, a theory based on the concept of anticipatory socialization was developed to try to account for it. It is suggested that from early childhood on, black children, but not female children, are socialized into the

---

[1]This study was supported by a Faculty Research Grant from the Graduate Research Council of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Paper delivered at Division 17 Symposium, "Collaboration: Experiences in Changing the Behavior of Female Behavior Changers", 81st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Montreal, Canada, August 30, 1973.

role of "a person who is discriminated against". Parents, relatives and friends of a black child often recount, to the child and to others within the child's hearing, personal experiences of racial discrimination in obtaining a job or housing, at school or at work, or in casual encounters with whites. In a large national survey, Crain and Weisman (1972) found that a majority of adult black respondents were able to recall personal experiences of discrimination by whites that occurred during the respondents' childhoods. Further, segregation in housing, schools and public accomodations are symbolic, to most blacks, of white prejudice and discrimination. By late adolescence, most blacks have been exposed to first-hand and second-hand discriminatory experiences of many types, and will tend to perceive considerable job discrimination even when they have not been employed and thus had no opportunity to personally experience this type of discrimination. Informal childhood socialization for careers within the primary group, too, will tend to suggest that blacks are excluded from many occupations because of discrimination, not because a given occupation is "inappropriate" for blacks. This formulation leads to the prediction that blacks should perceive significantly more discrimination against blacks than should whites, which was supported by the findings of our earlier study.

Compared to black children, white female children are not socialized into the role of "a person who is discriminated against". White females are not residentially segregated from males, and there is relatively little sex-segregation in elementary and secondary education, which in this country maintains an explicit ideology of educational equality between the sexes (Papanek, 1973). Both formal and informal career socialization for white female children tends to

suggest not that many occupations are restricted to women because of discrimination, but that these occupations are "inappropriate" for women. Compared to black children, white daughters of homemakers hear few tales of discrimination against women. An assumption of the present study is that most white females enter college having never subjectively experienced discrimination on the basis of sex. It seems likely that most white females who do come to experience discrimination first experience it after becoming gainfully employed.[3] Rossi (1969) points out that active feminists in past women's rights movements were women without marital or family ties--ex-wives, non-wives, or childless wives, whose need to support themselves led to their activism. Such women are most receptive to the notion that discrimination against their own sex exists. Hence, it is not surprising that in a recent national probability poll (Harris and Associates, 1971) of adults aged 21 and over, that single and divorced women were far more likely than married women to agree that "women are an oppressed group in America".

Part of socialization into the role of "a person who is discriminated against" involves the development of awareness of external barriers to achievement: i.e., of external locus of control (Rotter, 1954). One of these external barriers is discrimination against one's social group. Awareness of such discrimination should be related to Rotter's internal-external locus of control and, indeed, an extensive literature on internal-external locus of control suggests that blacks tend to be more external than whites (Rotter, in press). It seems likely that awareness of sexual discrimination among white females, too, is related to external control. In a discussion of the decline of the occupational status of American women, for example,

Knudsen (1969) suggested that females (i.e., white females) are indoctrinated with the notion that no barriers to achievement exist for the truly able woman. Thus, white females are encouraged to think of themselves as individuals rather than as members of a collectivity. Failure to succeed is likely to be interpreted as a failure of individual effort or individual ability rather than as a result of group discrimination.

This formulation leads to predictions of race and sex differences in perception of occupational discrimination against women that were, in general, supported by the findings of our earlier study.

Anticipatory socialization as a theoretical concept should also be useful in differentiating the characteristics of white females who were most aware and those who were least aware of occupational discrimination against women. Among the 1,457 white females studied by Turner and Turner (1972), compared to those most aware of discrimination against women, those least aware of discrimination should be characterized by: (1) internal rather than external locus of control[4]; (2) attitudes consistent with an ideology of individualism; (3) reports of more parental encouragement for higher education and, in general, encouragement rather than discouragement of high educational aspirations; (4) higher parental SES (conducive to individualism rather than group identification); and (5) higher educational and occupational aspirations, but not higher expectations (high expectations should imply a more realistic assessment of the labor market, hence more awareness of discrimination on the basis of sex, whereas high aspirations need not necessarily be acted upon).

## METHOD

### Sample and Procedure

The sample was comprised of 1,457 white female entering freshmen

at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. A questionnaire was administered, in 1969, as part of the testing and orientation sessions in which all entering freshmen participate during the summer preceding their entrance to the university. In addition to two scales of 21 occupations seeking ratings of occupational discrimination against women and against blacks, other items included demographic, developmental and attitudinal questions presumably relevant to career socialization.

To explore the notion that the concept of anticipatory socialization is helpful in differentiating white females who perceive relatively little sexual discrimination from those who perceive much more, the available data were examined for relevant correlates of perceived discrimination among white females. For the purpose of this secondary analysis, 28 variables were selected, reflecting childhood and adolescent socialization to achievement, value orientations presumably related to achievement (similar to items in Rotter's I-E scale), self-ratings of the likelihood of success in life and of persistence to the bachelor's degree, and parental educational and occupational status. All white female Ss (N=1,457) were categorized into three groups of high, medium and low Women Discrimination Scale Total (WDST)[5], the measure of occupational discrimination used in our earlier analysis, and a multiple discriminant analysis was performed to differentiate among those who perceived more or less discrimination. This technique maximizes differences between groups and minimizes the differences within groups (Veldman, 1967).

## RESULTS

Two canonical variates were extracted; the first, which accounted

for 56.33 percent of the variance among the three groups, significantly differentiated among the groups ($\chi^2$=56.40, p<.002), as did the second ($\chi^2$=43.91, p<.02), which accounted for 43.67 percent of the variance among groups. In effect, two statistically defined dimensions are necessary for the conceptualization of differences between white female Ss who perceived high, medium, and low degrees of occupational discrimination against women.

Discriminant function coefficients for the 28 measures included in the discriminant analysis are reported in Table 1. High coefficients (above 26 percent), indicating measures contributing most to group differentiation, have been underlined. Univariate F ratios, also shown in Table 1, permit evaluation of those measures which significantly differentiate among groups. With one exception, all measures with high coefficients also had F ratios indicating differentiation among groups at the .05 level or better.

- - - - - - - - - - -

Table 1 about here

- - - - - - - - - - -

Table 2 provides a summary of the statistically significant results on which further discussion is based. The root being considered is indicated in the first column. The measures are named in the second column. The third column, based on Table 1, indicates whether the measure contributed to the definition of the canonical variate (I), and whether it yielded a significant univariate F ratio (II). Means for the three groups have been arranged in ascending order in columns 4-6. Pairs of means have been compared by t ratios where measures yielded significant univariate F ratios; means connected by underlining do not differ at the .05 level.

The first canonical variate suggests that value orientations

presumably related to scholastic and vocational achievement (Rosen, 1956), in combination with high educational aspirations, are most appropriate for conceptualizing tendencies, among white female *Ss*, to perceive low occupational discrimination against women. Compared with those who are more aware of discrimination, women with low WDST scores were least likely to agree that "The best job is one where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit" and also expressed high future orientation--and, possibly, higher internal control--in disagreeing that "Nowadays with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself" and that "Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway". These women are also characterized by significantly higher educational aspirations although, in contrast, they were least likely to agree that "Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy". They also tended to report the highest parental educational aspiration for the *Ss*, but although this item contributed substantially to the first canonical variate (-.31), the *F* ratio failed to indicate significant differentiation among groups ($p<.06$). In summary, perceptions of relatively little discrimination against women were related to a high endorsement of value orientations similar to Rotter's scale items, indicating internal rather than external control, as well as to a wish for "individual credit", indicating an individualistic stance. Although these women had high educational aspirations, they did not have significantly higher educational expectations or occupational aspirations. This suggests that their optimistic future orientation and high educational aspir-

ations may not be acted upon.

The second canonical variate suggests that an "underdog syndrome" may be most appropriate for conceptualizing tendencies to be most sensitive to occupational discrimination against one's own sex. Ss most aware of discrimination also rated themselves as less likely to succeed than "other students entering this university", reported later parental encouragement for higher education, and reported lower educational attainment of mother and father than was true for Ss less sensitive to discrimination. The two achievement orientation items that seem most similar to Rotter's internal-external locus of control items are also implicated in the second canonical variate, indicating that white women most sensitive to discrimination based on sex were significantly least likely to value a future orientation, i.e. were most external.

The second canonical variate suggests that white women most aware of discrimination were characterized by a heightened awareness of external factors relevant to success that is related, most likely, to the low educational achievement of their parents. Awareness of discrimination does not seem to be a simple function of social class, for the analysis of variance carried out for all race-sex groups on WDST using three levels of social class revealed neither main nor interaction effects involving social class (Turner and Turner, 1971). Low parental education, however, may mediate the pessimistic, externalized, underdog stance of women with high WDST scores.

## DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The results of this exploratory secondary analysis indicate

considerable support for the theoretical formulation that differential socialization into the role of "a person who is discriminated against" characterizes white female college freshmen in the present study who perceived more or less occupational discrimination against women. At least partial support was found for each of the five hypotheses regarding correlates of perceptions of discrimination, indicating that our formulation is deserving of further investigation. It seems likely that compared to women most aware of discrimination on the basis of sex, those least aware of discrimination are characterized by high internal locus of control--the belief that reward is contingent upon one's own actions rather than by outside forces--and hold individualistic attitudes. It is notable that white females with the lowest WDST scores in this study reported the highest educational aspirations among the white female group, but that these high aspirations were not translated into high expectations. These white females have not become sufficiently invested in educational or occupational advancement to subjectively experience discrimination on the basis of sex. Their high future orientation and individualistic stance suggest that they may subscribe to the notion that no barriers exist for truly able women who, if they only make an individual effort, can succeed (Knudsen, 1969).

White females who were most sensitive to discrimination reported the lowest educational aspirations, but despite their pessimistic stance and, perhaps, low self-esteem, their educational and occupational expectations were not significantly lower than those of other white females.

What are the implications of these findings for female behavior

changers in higher education? There are clear implications for: (1) consciousness-raising among white college women, and (2) positive and negative personality and achievement consequences of perceptions of discrimination.

Consciousness-raising among white college women

That white female Ss in this sample perceived relatively little sexual discrimination disturbed an underlying assumption of the investigators, that one is best off if one apprehends correctly the discrimination one faces, so that one can best counteract it. A primary message of the women's liberation movement has been the existence of pervasive discrimination against women. Indeed, feminist writing has been criticized for being too exclusively a literature of protest. Clearly, however, white female freshmen at this large state university who were studied in 1969, some years after the resurfacing of the women's movement, had not received the message! Central assumptions of this paper are that the socialization of white female children is such that few enter college having subjectively experienced discrimination on the basis of sex, and that processes of socialization change slowly. Despite the reiteration in the feminist literature since 1969 that sexism is rampant, it seems likely that a replication of the present study with the entering class of 1973 would emerge with the same results: white females would perceive significantly less occupational discrimination against women than would white males and black females. There is much consciousness-raising to be done among white female freshmen!

There is a hint in these data that those women most sensitive to occupational discrimination may be quite receptive to social and political support from other women, in their tendency to agree with

the item, "The best job is one where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit". At least, these women may be predisposed to think of themselves as members of a collectivity.

Positive and negative personality and achievement consequences of perceptions of discrimination

It is widely accepted that discrimination (i.e., the restriction of opportunity) creates a variety of personality problems in persons subject to discrimination. Indeed, women have been shown in a number of national surveys, for example, to evince low self-esteem (e.g., Crain and Weisman, 1972), a common characteristic of discriminated-against groups (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951). Further, there is evidence that the negative personality consequences of discrimination, in turn, limit ability to achieve (Crain and Weisman).

The findings of the present study indicate that compared to white females who are relatively blind to discrimination, those who are sensitive to discrimination may also display such negative personality effects of sexual discrimination as pessimism, possibly unhappiness, and fatalism (i.e., external rather than internal locus of control of environment). It is possible to suggest that women could avoid the negative personality consequences of discrimination by simply denying that discrimination exists. Ultimately, however, the assumed negative personality consequences are a function of actual discrimination, which will not disappear because people might be persuaded to believe that discrimination does not exist.

Indeed, perception of discrimination may further be equivocal in its effects on achievement behaviors: some young women may react to perceived barriers with personal unhappiness, hopelessness

and withdrawal; others may be challenged to overcome perceived barriers and react with persistent achievement behaviors or with political attempts to change the system.

Further data on the undergraduate entering class of 1969 that forms the focus of this report were gathered from random samples of those who were still enrolled in 1970, 1972, and 1973. Analyses of these data are expected to provide more definitive answers to the questions of the antecedents and consequences of perceptions of discrimination against women among female students.

FOOTNOTES

[2]A total score of perceived occupational discrimination against women was created by summing ratings of perceived discrimination in 21 occupations. The question was: "Here are some questions about employment and advancement in some occupations...Do you think this field is open to women: (1) On the same basis as to men, (2) Open only to exceptional women, (3) Not open to women?" The 21 occupations used were not a random sample of all occupations. Most were high status white collar and professional occupations appropriate to the career plans of the university student sample studied. In these high-status occupations, more underrepresentation of women is found.

[3]It has often been pointed out that the women's liberation movement resurfaced in the early 1960's as a result, in part, of young, college-educated white radical women's experiences of "male chauvinism" among New Left males. But whether a woman becomes subjectively aware of sexism because of personal experiences of male chauvinism or of job discrimination, women of less than college age are unlikely to subjectively experience either one.

[4]Available data did not include Rotter's I-E scale. Items similar to some of those in Rotter's scale were available and were used as a rough index of internal-external locus of control.

[5]The dividing points for the three groups was based on dividing the entire study sample, including blacks and white males, into thirds. Thus, the three white female groups are unevenly split.

TABLE 1

Discriminant Function Coefficients For Two Roots and Univariate F ratios

| Variables | Coefficients | | Univariate |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Root 1 | Root 2 | F |
| Rosen items (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree) | | | |
| 1. All I want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of my own. | -.1360 | -.1481 | .81 |
| 2. Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway. | -.2722 | -.2706 | 3.01* |
| 3. When a man is born the success he is going to have is already in the cards, so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it. | .1502 | -.2318 | 2.35 |
| 4. Nowadays with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself. | .4026 | -.2871 | 5.34*** |
| 5. Even though parents often seem too strict, when a person gets older he will realize it was beneficial. | .2271 | .0894 | 1.96 |
| 6. If my parents told me to stop seeing a friend of my own sex, I'd see that friend anyway. | .1571 | .1947 | 1.24 |
| 7. Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory work. | .2244 | .1849 | 1.78 |
| 8. It's silly for a teenager to put money in a car when the money could be used to get started in a business or for an education. | .1805 | -.0002 | .96 |
| 9. The best kind of job is one where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit. | -.4458 | .2348 | 8.51*** |

TABLE 1

Discriminant Function Coefficients For Two Roots and Univariate F ratios

| Variables | Coefficients | | Univariate |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Root 1 | Root 2 | F |
| Rosen items (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree) | | | |
| 1. All I want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of my own | .1360 | -.1481 | .81 |
| 2. Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway. | -.2722 | -.2706 | 3.01* |
| 3. When a man is born the success he is going to have is already in the cards, so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it | .1502 | -.2318 | 2.35 |
| 4. Nowadays with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself. | .4026 | -.2871 | 5.34*** |
| 5. Even though parents often seem too strict, when a person gets older he will realise it was beneficial. | .2271 | .0894 | 1.96 |
| 6. If my parents told me to stop seeing a friend of my own sex, I'd see that friend anyway. | .1571 | .1947 | 1.24 |
| 7. Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory work. | .2244 | .1849 | 1.78 |
| 8. It's silly for a teenager to put money in a car when the money could be used to get started in a business or for an education. | .1805 | -.0002 | .96 |
| 9. The best kind of job is one where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit. | -.4458 | .2348 | 8.51*** |

REFERENCES

Crain, Robert L. and Carol S. Weisman, Discrimination, personality, and achievement. New York: Seminar, 1972.

Kardiner, Abram and Lionel Ovesey, The mark of oppression. New York: Norton, 1951.

Knudsen, Dean D. "The declining status of women: popular myths and the failure of functionalist thought", Social Forces 48, 1969, 183-193.

Papanek, Hanna, "Men, Women, and Work: Reflections on the Two-person Career", American Journal of Sociology, 78, 4, 1973, 852-872.

Rotter, Julian B. "Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement", Psychological Monographs, in press

Rotter, Julian B. Social learning and clinical psychology. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1954.

Turner, Castellano B. and Barbara F. Turner, "Perception of the occupational opportunity structure, socialization to achievement and career orientation as related to sex and race". Proceedings of the 79th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1971, 243-44.

Veldman, Donald J. Fortran programming for the behavioral sciences. New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1969.

TABLE 2

Summary of Significant Differences Between

High, Medium, and Low Women Discrimination Total Score Groups

(White Females Only)

| Root | Variable* | Analysis Contribution | Group Means | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Rosen #9 | I, II | Med. 2.73 | High 2.78 | Low 2.94 |
| | Rosen #4 | I, II | High 3.04 | Med. 3.17 | Low 3.23 |
| | Liked Degree | I, II | High 3.03 | Med. 3.08 | Low 3.19 |
| | Rosen #10 | I, II | Low 3.26 | Med. 3.32 | High 3.38 |
| | Parents' Hope | I | High 2.48 | Med. 2.51 | Low 2.59 |
| | Rosen #2 | I, II | High 3.13 | Med. 3.24 | Low 3.25 |
| 2 | More Success | I, II | Med. 2.23 | Low 2.29 | High 2.35 |
| | Father's Education | I, II | Med. 3.15 | Low 3.23 | High 3.41 |
| | Mother's Education | I, II | Med. 3.46 | Low 3.50 | High 3.65 |
| | Earliest Encouragement | I, II | Med. 2.26 | Low 2.28 | High 2.43 |
| | Rosen #4 | I, II | High 3.04 | Med. 3.17 | Low 3.23 |
| | Rosen #2 | I, II | High 3.13 | Med. 3.24 | Low 3.25 |

*For full descriptive names of variables see Table 1.

TABLE 1 (Continued)

| Variables | Coefficients | | Univariate |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Root 1 | Root 2 | F |
| 10. Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy. | .3262 | .1223 | 3.01* |
| 11. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents even if it means giving up a good job. | .0328 | -.0372 | .08 |
| 12. Even when teenagers get married their main loyalty still belongs to their mother and father. | .1157 | -.0489 | .52 |
| 13. Rosen Total Score | .1262 | -.2237 | 1.30 |
| 14. Earliest age of encouragement to attend college | .2520 | .3871 | 4.21** |
| 15. Number of people encouraging S to lower aspiration level. | -.1235 | .0262 | .50 |
| 16. Mother's reaction to S dropping out of college ("broken-hearted" to "pleased"). | .2173 | -.0139 | 1.44 |
| 17. Father's reaction to S dropping out of college ("broken-hearted" to "pleased"). | .0200 | .0574 | .10 |
| 18. Liked degree (less than bachelor's to doctorate). | .3497 | -.0640 | 3.44* |
| 19. Expected degree (less than bachelor's to doctorate). | .2477 | .0518 | 2.03 |
| 20. Expected college success as compared to other students (4-point scale) | .1109 | .4301 | 4.13** |

TABLE 1 (Continued)

| Variables | Coefficients | | Univariate |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Root 1 | Root 2 | F |
| 21. Likelihood that S will drop out of college (4-point scale) | .0067 | .0831 | .16 |
| 22. Future Occupation (Status Level) | .1467 | .1946 | 1.17 |
| 23. Parents have high aspirations for S (4-point scale) | -.0875 | -.2126 | 1.06 |
| 24. Highest degree parents hope for S (less than bachelor's to doctorate). | -.3089 | -.0387 | 2.71 |
| 25. Father's occupation (Status level) | .2068 | .2495 | 2.04 |
| 26. Father's education | .1870 | .4142 | 4.12** |
| 27. Mother's occupation (Status level) | .1045 | .0541 | .32 |
| 28. Mother's education | .2214 | .3895 | 3.96** |

*p < .05; ** p < .02; ***p < .01; dfb = 2, dfw = 1454

# PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS

# IN RESEARCH AND TEACHING

Joan P. Bean [1,2]
University of Massachusetts
Department of Psychology

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
JOAN P. BEAN
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER"

1. Rough draft (not to be cited or quoted) of paper to be read at the American Psychological Association Meetings, Montreal, Canada, 1973.

2. I would like to express my thanks to Mike Royer and Susan Goldberg for bringing position papers and research to my attention.

The focus of my paper is a professional and personal self-examination. The task I set was to describe a union of a subjective experience as a person with an objective perspective as a social science researcher and teacher. Person and psychologist bounce and weave throughout the paper. I will be describing where I've been and where I see myself going in the context of research and teaching in psychology. In addition, I will suggest how psychology might become richer as a function of the union of subjectivity and objectivity.

If self-consciousness is a sign of maturity, then my presentation is one indication of the coming of age of one psychologist. Let me place this statement in perspective. I am not looking back on a twenty-year career as a social scientist; I am looking forward - from a two-year perspective as a new faculty member in psychology. I will not attempt to lure you with the notion that one person's experience in a profession is generalizable to a total discipline. My experience is a datum. In addition, I hope the paper will serve as a stimulus to compare and contrast my experience with others in the field.

Presently, I view psychology as a male-centered science of behavior. Androcentric, or phallocentric, some have called it. This generalization is not meant to ignore the ethnocentric issue inherent in all Western social science research (Hsu, 1973). The ethnocentric issue is not within the scope of this paper. Quite simply, psychology is part of the sexism problem (Bem, 1973; Weisstein, 1970). As a discipline we have done a "job" on women. However, times and laws are changing. I believe there is variance

and diversity among psychologists. I'm not speaking about or to every or any one of them. However, I believe it is not through mutual admiration that we can hope to improve the intellectual climate and products of our discipline.

The central problem for me, is this unique interaction of the professional and personal. Although I felt the concern for this interaction early on, it was anxiety provoking, unsettling, and pushed to the periphery. One early omen of change was that I started to raise serious questions about teaching and research in psychology. For example: What are the ethical implications of my treatment of human beings in experiments? How do you balance scientific objectivity and distance with respect for human beings and personal values? Herbert Kelman (1968) has spoken eloquently to these issues. Is objectivity a myth that has allowed social scientists to wash their hands of personal involvement? Why are increasing numbers of creative and intelligent graduate students "turned off" by the analytic mode of science? I started to take a cold, hard look at the process and product of interaction between subject and experimenter. My present dilemma has become how to humanize the procedures of empirical research while being aware of the conditions necessary to carry out effective data collection.

During this period, I found one or two colleagues with whom to discuss the frustrations and rewards of research and teaching. We discussed unsought insights, stumbled-upon understandings, never-resolved misunderstandings. What were our opportunities to help shape the intellectual direction of our chosen profession? What are the psychological barriers for women in social science? What are sexist assumptions in research and

teaching? Does every new faculty member find that ideas block on the tongue, unexpressed, at large faculty meetings? I felt alternately like a delayed adolescent (Aren't you supposed to go through this in graduate school?), and like an anthropologist on to "something big" in the culture of academe. Postman and Weingartner (1969) might call the role "nouveau crap detector".

Along with this initial change in perspectives and questions, each semester I was teaching a graduate seminar and a large undergraduate course. I certainly recognized the importance of educational role models - having had only one female faculty member in my graduate environment at the University of California, Berkeley. However, in tune with my own level of consciousness at that time, I felt it unfortunate but not serious. I had absolutely no sense that adult women achievers are required to beget future women achievers. Indeed, the number of women faculty and number of women achievers are highly and positively correlated (Tidball, 1973).

I talked with many women students that first excruciatingly painful year in the new culture. We talked and argued a wide variety of issues. They asked questions that you might ask your friends: What was it like to be a faculty member in a large university? How did you get into research in verbal learning? Is it exciting? How did you decide to go to graduate school? When did you decide to teach? Frequently, I found myself in unplanned academic and personal counseling sessions. The conflicts of women in the university reverberated long after the interactions. At times, waves of self-doubt and feelings of incompetence engulfed me. I started to encourage, support and push women students "to carry out a creative research idea" - "yes, apply to graduate school" - "submit the paper to a research

meeting" - "revise the research report and sent it to a journal". My time and energy commitment to women students has increased markedly over two years.

Also around me were some first year graduate students - who might fondly be called "civilization's malcontents". Our discussions and heated arguments centered on the scientific model and the social consequences of research in psychology. We did agree that behavioral science was heavy on the logico-deductive method and light on alternative ways of knowing. The tentative resolutions ran the gamut from optimistic strategies for changing the models and methodology of empirical research to pessimistic growls of "look at the trivia in the journals". Increasing numbers of intelligent and creative students are considering these issues.

Teaching

When I left Berkeley, I had an idea for a "Psychology of Women" course. Clearly, it was not my area of professional training and didn't quite fit my language and verbal learning interests; I did have a very strong personal commitment. I found myself spending an inordinate amount of time reading and thinking about women's issues. I started to mentally extend and critique sex role research and theory. The course was a windfall. The seminar students came from a wide variety of academic and life experiences (the course was offered through the University's Continuing Education Division). While my goal for the course was to survey research and theory in the areas of child rearing, education, testing and the like, the course turned out to be a mix of analysis and direct experience. The discussions were not only personally involving for all of us, but frequently threatening to long established personal images. The finale was a symposium on women, consisting

of seminar members' position papers and research reports.

I've told you about the "good" teaching experience of the second semester. My first semester of teaching a large undergraduate course (N = 200) in educational psychology was a "bomb". No matter what criteria I used, the course was a disaster. The more anxious I became, the more I retreated into sounding like an abstract from the Journal of Experimental Psychology. I was full of data, designs and discussion. Slowly it dawned on me that the 16th century lecture method left a great gap in communication with students. Also while the content of my lectures was interesting to me, I was a minority of one. Something had to change. We (TA's included) invited a group of students to one of our weekly meetings to talk about revising the course. Thanks to everyone's openness, intuition and blatant subjectivity, we emerged with a course based on a combination of field experience, lab-discussion sections, case studies and lectures. But the structure wasn't the only change. The content of my lectures now included sexism in the classroom and bias in curriculum materials. Students in my classes seemed freer to interact with me. In the new format, females seemed to speak out and ask more questions. It was a great improvement from our view and from theirs.

During this period, the staff of Everywoman's Center was assembling. (Norma Glucksterm and Joan Hemmer will give you a more detailed report on EWC.) I have found Pat Sackrey, our discussant, and the EWC staff, invaluable resources for discussion materials and student referrals. We are currently collaborating on a research proposal that will bring together interests in adolescent and adult males and females.

So far, I've tried to give you a flavor of the people and events that provided the foreground for my change in teaching and research. The critical aspect was the mode of this transformation. Uniquely, change was not occurring through behavior modification or programmed instruction, but through direct, open and sharing experiences with people.

Research

My graduate research training was excellent. I find pleasure in generating questions, designing experiments and getting answers. I've had success in getting federal funds for my research in children's verbal learning. I've completed a year of productive collaboration with four graduate students. Recently I submitted a grant proposal to support a series of experiments on Piagetian Developmental Level and Math and Science Achievement. I am committed to research but I'm critical, uncomfortable and restless about behavioral science. Our historical models seem lopsided.

There are a number of issues I want to raise. I believe we have a body of behavioral data that are bound in prejudice, both sexist and racist. How valid are these data? For recent critiques of sex role research, see Saarni, Taber, Hamilton, 1973; Weisstein, 1970. Sometimes the bias is subtle and not often recognized, sometimes it's blatant. How do these data affect our psychological theorizing? I have wondered how white male psychologists would feel about accepting theories about their psyche generated by female psychologists. The point is what are the intellectual consequences of sexism on individuals.

Saarni et al (1973) examined measures of sex role assessment. The results indicate the measures are invalid. One can speculate on the validity

of all the research studies that have categorized subjects on a masculine-feminine continuum prior to some experimental manipulation (i.e. sex role and spatial abilities, sex role and conformity, sex role and cognitive style, and on and on).

Weisstein (1970) opines that "...Psychology has nothing to say about what women are really like, what they need and what they want, essentially because psychology does not know. I want to stress that this failure is not limited to women..." (p.2). She argues that researchers must attend to the socio-cultural context within which individuals live.

We seem to have a cultural bondage in psychology. The discipline is Western, middle-class and male. (I am indebted to Hsu (1973) for raising these issues in anthropology.) Examples of our bondage leap out in conceptions of intelligence, motivation, masculine-feminine behavior and psychotherapy. How have we managed to ignore the situational context of behavior? An optimistic note is a recent research study carried out by Whiting and Pope (1973). They examined cross-cultural sex differences by observing 3-11 year olds in natural settings.

Our science is constrained by the hypothetic-deductive method. Blackburn (1971) suggests we have "...one eye closed when we see only abstract quantification." (p.1004). There are other ways of knowing the world. Blackburn (1971) presents a strong case for the union of two modes of knowing. One is through subjectivity and intuition, and what he calls "direct sensuous experience"; the other the scientific method. In order to see the big behavioral picture in a social context, we must use both. In fact, most of us do every day - as humans, our minds and bodies process

information in an amazingly sophisticated manner. We also test hypotheses. It is through the complementarity of sensuous and ~~and~~ intellectual knowledge that we will proceed as scientists, thus expanding our frame of reference. One example of complementarity is the animal behavior data of Jane Goodall and Harry Harlow. The account of animals in the field has certainly expanded the orthodox psychological animal data. One must recognize that the methods differ but both are rational. "A number is not an experience, nor is an equation the same thing as intuition." (p. 1004, Blackburn, 1970)

As social scientists we've had tremendous resistance to intuitive knowledge and its communication. We only see the incompatability of "sensuous experience" and the logico-deductive method. (We have much to learn from the complex mental discipline of Zen.) Another factor feeding this rejection of "sensuous experience" is that knowledge is open to all equally - there are no experts. We may feel threatened and withdraw back to the laboratory where one can be less personally involved and more in control of behavior.

This complementarity of experience and experiment is crucial for me. We must start training psychologists to be aware of sensuous cues in social contexts - insisting on the validity of experience as a part of the intellectual structure of psychology. Movement between these alternatives (i.e. experience and analysis) is the way I see to proceed in our discipline. Research on sex role development would surely benefit.

We need a reorientation on male and female behavior. We need more open speculation and consideration of issues. For example: What's a natural history of male and female adjustment? If we can get out of the cultural and scientific bondage, I believe we'll have a richer psychology.

## REFERENCES


Bem, S. Where have all the androgenous people gone? Unpublished paper, Stanford University, 1972.

Blackburn, T.R. Sensuous-intellectual complementarity in science. Science, 1971, 17, 1003 - 1007.

Hsu, F. Prejudice and its intellectual effect on American anthropology. American Anthropologist, 1973, 75, 1 - 19.

Kelman, H. A time to speak: On human values and social research. Jassey-Bass Inc., San Francisco, 1968.

Postman, N. and Weingartner, C. Teaching as a subversive activity. Delacarte, New York, 1969.

Saarni, C., Taber, R., and Hamilton, L. The vicissitudes of sex-role assessment. Paper presented at the Western Psychological Meetings, Anaheim, California, 1973.

Tidball, E. Perspective on academic women and affirmative action. Educational Review, 1973, 54, 130 - 135.

Whiting, B. and Pope, C. A cross-cultural analysis of sex differences in the behavior of children aged three through eleven. Journal of Social Psychology, 1973 ( in press ).

Weisstein, N. Psychology constructs the female. Paper published by New England Free Press, 1970.

Presented in Division 17

American Psychological Association
in Montreal

August 30, 1973

Title of Session

Collaboration: Experiences in Changing the
Behavior of Female Behavior Changers

Title of Presentation

# Project Self Evaluation:
# Feminist Process in an Educational Setting

(An Application of the Fortune/Hutchinson Evaluation Methodology with some recommendations for methodological changes for application to women's groups.)

Margaret M. Mehta
School of Education
University of Massachusetts

My presentation will be concerned with two questions based on my collaborative efforts with women.

## I. QUESTIONS

I ask of us all and particularly of the women involved in collaborative efforts with women: Can we develop a methodology that will build upon these experiences? My answer is, yes. There is evidence from my experience to suggest that a methodology can be developed for the collective efforts of women. A second question which I address is: Will personal change be a consequence of collaborative experiences? The answer for me is again, yes. This will be subsequently described.

## II. BACKGROUND

About two years ago, some workshops for, by and about women were started on the University of Massachusetts campus. These workshops were entitled Project Self. Project Self is a major component of Every Woman's Center, a newly developed program for women on this campus. An evaluation of Project Self was carried out this past Spring by five participants or decision-makers who chose to be involved. Most of these women also happen to have major responsibilities in the Every Woman's Center. This evaluative effort was entitled: Project Self Evaluation: Feminist Process in an Educational Setting. The purpose of the evaluation was to determine ways in which the workshops should meet the needs of every woman.

An innovative technique, Fortune/Hutchinson Evaluation Methodology, was used.* It will be described as briefly as possible to provide the basis for the comments and discussion which are to follow.

## III. FORTUNE/HUTCHINSON EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

Methodology is defined within this framework as a ". . . a systematic, operationalized, standardized set of rules and procedures designed to accomplish a defined purpose." The purpose of this methodology is to provide data for decision-makers. The process includes determining the decision-makers goals and their priorities, defining the goals clearly from the prospective of the decision-makers for the purpose of obtaining measurements, developing measurements, carrying them out, collecting the data and finally reporting them to the decision-makers. This methodology is being field tested and developed in a variety of settings.

## IV. SOME ACCOMPLISHMENTS, PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### A. Accomplishments

Some of the accomplishments, problems and recommendations of this evaluation will follow. First, I will begin with a description of some of the accomplishments. Secondly, the problems that were encountered will be described. The problems will then be considered in terms of ways that the methodology can be improved upon to provide for potentially increased accomplishments by other groups of women who may wish to apply this approach.

*The co-developers were both of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst Campus. Tom Hutchinson is still on the faculty.

The decision-makers, of which I was one, decided that the highest priority was to establish the criteria for the workshop selection. In a technique called the Goals Process, the decision-makers were able to specify certain goals as the basis for the selection of the workshops. The generation of these data proved to be a valuable experience for us because it provided an opportunity to begin to systematically focus on the rhetoric concerning the fundamental needs for the workshops.

The goals were then clarified further through a special technique in the methodology. These goals were used in a workshop that was provided by one of the decision-makers for the instructors of facilitators of the workshops.

An indirect accomplishment of clarifying goals was the development of a clearer view of the process used in working together. The methodology requires that the evaluation be carried out in the usual way in which an organization works together. Decision-makers were thus made aware of the need to examine this process, clarify it and utilize it in ways to meet the group needs. However, although the need was evident, time was not made available to act on the recognition of this need.

B. Problems and Recommendations

The application of the F/H Evaluation Methodology to Project Self represents its first use by a women's group. I will describe some of the problems which lead to my recommended additions and changes of the methodology for its specific application to women's groups.

(1) Contract

Theoretically, this evaluation is begun by a contract between the decision-makers and the evaluator. In this specific

instance, a contract could not be agreed upon and its requirements was suspended in the hopes that the evaluation would be carried out even when these terms could not be agreed upon. I now think that a contract must be arrived at before an evaluation is embarked upon. However, the usual business-like jargon of contracts appears to be an affront for some women and thus a hindrance to making a satisfactory contract. A contract must thus be devised which will meet the personal, idealogical and practical needs of potential women collaborators. Terminology must, for example, be such that the decision-makers feel that there are possibilities for developing an understanding and trust between and among themselves and the evaluator.

(2) Process and Product Goals

Although there was a definite feeling of benefit on the part of some of the decision-makers concerning the process of working together, the process was not systematically discussed. It was not considered to be a goal as such. Yet most of the decision-makers acted as if the process were a group goal. I think that there is clear evidence from this experience that for collaborative efforts by women, the methodology must build in the question of whether or not there is to be a process as well as a product orientation for goals. If the process is ranked with the product priorities, it must be subjected to evaluation in the same way as the product goals. This can be a complex task but exploration of this area appears essential for the improvement of the methodology for its application to women's groups.

(3) Resources

One of the major problems of this evaluation was in the limited resources available to these women. Resources in this framework refers to a variety of things including the time that the participants put into the evaluation along with the usual requirements of such things as physical facilities. Within the methodology, the decision-makers were required to indicate the minimal time that they would expend on the evaluation. However, the decision-makers in this evaluation were not able to predict the numerous demands on their time in the bludgeoning development of Every Woman's Center. Due to this problem, even the minimal time that had been agreed upon was considerably reduced. It was clear that a discussion regarding the resource of time was required. However, in this situation, there was no firm contract nor were process goals available to utilize in resolving this problem. Here the recommendation for making the methodology appropriate for women's groups is dependent upon the contract and a consideration of the need for process goals.

(4) Insider--Outsider

Women in the women's movement often prefer to tap the resources of "sisters" as opposed to outsiders. However, because of the diversity of the ideology and concerns of groups and organizations within the movement, one can be an outsider in respect to a woman's group even if some major assumptions are shared. I was an outsider in this evaluation in the sense that I had not previously been involved in efforts and discussions with these particular women in the evaluation nor of Every Woman's Center. I was an insider in

the larger sense in that it was assumed that we all shared certain mutual beliefs under the umbrella of the women's movement. This situation created its own problems. Broadly speaking, it placed me in a conflicting role. I was neither a real insider, nor outsider. I needed to become more of an insider to be able to work with greater familiarity and trust with this group. For an improvement of their methodology in working with women's groups, the evaluator should contribute a specified amount of time to some activity of the organization in which her collaborators are involved or think important. This arrangement should allow the evaluator to become more familiar with the organization or group and with the women with whom she works. This contribution of time should be made in a role other than that of evaluator.

## V. PERSONAL QUESTIONS ADDRESSED

My personal feelings about this collaborative effort with women are mixed. While wishing that accomplishments of this evaluation had not been so limited, the fact that gaps were seen and can be dealt with to develop this methodology for future collaborative efforts by women is at least intellectually consoling.

There are two changes that I feel are required of me for future efforts in this area. I need to learn to facilitate women to develop this methodology and there by to make it their own.* This is in contrast to feeling that I have something to develop on or through them which can then be given to them.

*The idea of facilitation was derived from detailed discussion on it in the evaluation itself.

The second change that I would want to make is to allow myself to be more flexible about what it is that I learn in such a group endeavor. My interpretation of what I had wanted to learn in applying this methodology had been a rather formal or academic approach. I believe this was alienating to this group. They appeared to consider the organization of the methodology as a formal agenda which did not immediately take into account their needs and purposes. This was perhaps due to the initial very systematic manner in which I presented it.

## VI. SUMMARY

In summary, the F/H Evaluation Methodology was used by some women collaborators to evaluate Project Self workshops for, by and about women. We experienced both accomplishments as well as problems. The problems have been considered as gaps in the methodology for its application to women's collaborative efforts. Recommendations for improvements or changes in the methodology have been suggested. My experience in this effort brought about the recognition of the need for personal change.